Niveau(x) d'enseignement: 3 Numéro EDUQ : 8570744
Centre d'intérêt: 755

Genesee, Fred.

The effect of intensive second language instruction on extra-curricular use of the target language : a report submitted to the Instructional Services Departement, the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal / Fred Genesee & Ellen Adiv. -- Montreal : The Department, 1980.
vi, 35 p. ; 28 cm.

Résumé en français et en anglais: p. ii-v. Bibliogr.: p. 24-25.

Descripteur(s): *Français (Langue) *Langue seconde *Langue parlée *Classe d'immersion *Lecture *Mass media *Primaire (Niveau)

Le but de cette étude est de mesurer l'usage que font du français, en dehors de la classe, des élèves appartenant à des classes d'immersion et des élèves inscrits au programme régulier en anglais.

On a examiné les différentes activités langagières, telles que la lecture et l'écoute des médias (radio et télévision), de 278 élèves de sixième année et de leurs parents. Environ les deux tiers des élèves fréquentaient un programme d'immersion et l'autre tiers fréquentait un programme régulier dans lequel l'enseignement du français est de 30 minutes par jour. L'information fut recueillie à l'aide de deux questionnaires, d'un journal personnel et d'un test de compréhension de l'écrit. L'information auprès des parents a été recueillie à l'aide d'un questionnaire.

Les résultats montrent que la lecture en langue maternelle (anglais) était hautement appréciée par les élèves et les parents. Par contre, la lecture en langue seconde (français) était rare. Il n'y a pas de différence significative entre les élèves du programme régulier et ceux des classes d'immersion dans leur compte rendu de lecture en français, bien que le groupe d'immersion ait obtenu des résultats supérieurs au test de compréhension de l'écrit. De plus, il n'y a pas de différence significative entre les deux groupes dans l'usage du français transmis par les médias. Néanmoins, le groupe d'immersion est plus enclin à utiliser le français de façon générale, notamment lors des contacts journaliers avec des francophones.

Type de document: r
Région(s) administrative(s): 063
Financement: Bénéficiaire - CEPGM
Organisme(s) source(s) - MEQ-DGDP
Programme(s) de subvention - PDEL

EDUQ 8570744

THE EFFECT OF INTENSIVE SECOND LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION ON EXTRA-CURRICULAR USE OF THE TARGET LANGUAGE

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A report submitted to the Instructional Services Department

The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal

December 1980

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible by grants from Le ministère de l'Education, Gouvernement du Québec to the Instructional Services Department, The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, and from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Ottawa, to F. Genesee.

We would like to thank the principals and the teachers who were connected with this research for their assistance. Above all, we would like to express our appreciation to the students and the parents for their participation in the project.

Résumé

Le but de cette étude était de sonder l'usage du français par les élèves d'immersion en dehors du programme de classe. L'étude a examiné les différentes activités langagières telles que la lecture et l'écoute des médias (radio et télévision) de 278 élèves de 6ième année, ainsi que celles de leurs parents. Environ deux tiers des élèves fréquentaient un programme d'immersion primaire et l'autre tiers fréquentait un programme anglais régulier dans lequel l'enseignement du français est de 30 minutes par jour. L'information concernant les étudiants a été obtenue à l'aide de deux questionnaires, un journal personnel et un test de compréhension de l'écrit. Dans le cas des parents, l'information a été obtenue à l'aide de questionnaires.

Les résultats indiquent que la lecture en langue maternelle (anglais) était hautement appréciée par les élèves et les parents. Par contre, la lecture en langue seconde (français) était rare. Il n'y avait pas de différences significatives entre les élèves du programme régulier et ceux de l'immersion dans leur compte-rendu de lecture en français, malgré que le groupe d'immersion avait obtenu des résultats supérieurs au test de compréhension de l'écrit. De plus, il n'y avait pas de différences significatives entre les deux groupes en ce qui concerne leur usage du français par rapport aux médias. Cependant, le groupe d'immersion a démontré une meilleure disposition à vouloir utiliser le français en général. En effet, les élèves d'immersion ont indiqué un usage plus

fréquent du français que les élèves du programme régulier dans leurs contacts journaliers avec des francophones. Les résultats démontrent aussi que les habitudes langagières des parents sont semblables à celles de leurs enfants. Les résultats sont discutés en fonction des facteurs de motivation qui pourraient déterminer les activités langagières des étudiants et de leurs parents.

Summary

The purpose of the present research was to investigate the extra-curricular use of French by immersion and non-immersion students. The study investivated the reading habits and other media-based language activities, of 278 grade 6 students and their parents. Approximately two-thirds of the students were enrolled in an early immersion program and the other third attended a regular English program where French was taught for 30 minutes a day. Information was collected from the students through two questionnaires, a diary system and a French reading comprehension test. In the case of the parents, the information was obtained through questionnaires.

The results indicate that reading in the first language (English) was highly valued by students and parents alike. However, reading in the second language was rare. Moreover, there was no significant difference between the regular program students and the immersion students in their reported reading in French, despite the immersion group's superior achievement in French reading competence. Nor were there any other substantial differences between the two groups in their use of French in conjunction with the media. However, the immersion group showed more willingness to use French in general, and reported speaking the language more frequently than the non-immersion students in interpersonal situations. The parents' responses reflect the same patterns of first and second language usage.

The findings are discussed in terms of motivational factors which seem to underlie the linguistic behavior of the students and their parents.

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The French immersion programs of the P.S.B.G.M. have been systematically evaluated since their inception (cf. Genesee, 1978/79, for a review). The research shows that students participating in these programs achieve much higher levels of proficiency in French than the students who receive the regular 30 - 50 minutes a day of French instruction. The studies, however, also reveal that while the students seem to develop native-like competence in the receptive skills, proficiency in the productive skills is much less developed. In particular, it has been found that the immersion students seem to develop only those skills required for basic communicative functions and that they do not improve their grammar skills in the target language (Adiv, 1980). While this phenomenon has been attributed to the lack of peer models in the classroom (Selinker, Swain & Dumas, 1975; Swain, 1978), it may be further accentuated by the immersion students' failure to make use of the opportunities they have to use French in day-to-day situations outside the classroom. In a survey of grade 6 and grade 11 immersion students in Montreal, Genesee (1978) found little evidence of significant extracurricular use of French by these students when compared to non-immersion students. However, Genesee's findings are based on limited sample sizes and on data which consist of self-reported estimates of language use.

The purpose of the present study was to extend the previous study and to focus more attention on those uses of the second language (SL) which do not involve face-to-face interactions between native and non-native French speakers. The rationale here is that immersion students, especially at the elementary school level, may have few opportunities for direct interactions

with francophone peers because of certain demographic factors. Moreover, interactions with native-French speakers may not be sought by immersion students for fear of critical reactions to their attempts to express themselves in French. On the other hand, a bilingual community like Montreal offers opportunities to utilize one's knowledge of the SL for indirect contact with the other linguistic group through activities based on the written and audio-visual media such as books, newspapers, radio broadcasts and television shows. The focus of the present study is on the immersion students' French reading habits. However, information was also gathered concerning the students' English reading habits and their use of both languages in other types of activities both media and non-media based. This additional information provides a perspective within which to estimate the general significance of reading relative to other activities and the specific importance of reading in the SL.

Moon and Wells (1980) have noted that the reading habits of children are influenced by the meaningfulness and importance of reading habits to their parents. This is likely to be no less true of SL reading than of first language reading. In fact, the importance of the role of parents may be compounded in the case of SL literacy since parents may act as "cultural brokers" between their children and the target language group. That is to say, the value and, therefore, the use of biliteracy among children and adolescent learners may be mediated by the significance attached to the target language group by the parents. Cultural significance may be manifest in several distinct ways, for example, in the parents' attitudes or in their behaviour with respect to learning and/or actually using the SL themselves.

Interestingly, parental factors have been largely ignored in the research on SL learning. Despite the fact that integrative and/or instrumental attitudes have been shown to be significantly associated with SL achievement among adolescents, at least in some contexts, the potential influence of analogous factors among the learners' parents has been seldom considered little alone investigated empirically (although cf. Oller, 1978, for a case against the role of attitudinal variables, as currently defined, in explaining individual differences in SL achievement). Children's generally poorly developed sense of ethnic identity and understanding of other social groups (Genesee, Tucker, & Lambert, 1978; Middleton, Tajfel, & Johnson, 1970; Piaget & Weil, 1951) suggests that any influence of inter-group variables on childrens' SL learning and use may be mediated directly by parental factors. In his earlier survey, Genesee (1978) suggested that the immersion students' failure to actively engage in additional use of French or in activities which called for the use of French may have been due to the lack of appropriate socio-linguistic models within the students' family or social community. With these possibilities in mind, extensive information was solicited from the children's parents.

The Samples

A total of 278 grade 6 students and their parents were surveyed. The students came from five schools, three of which belonged to the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal while two belonged to the South Shore Protestant Regional School Board. The schools were selected from two boards in order to insure some degree of generalizability. All the schools were in

predominantly middle class suburban areas. The students were attending either an early immersion program (Imm) or a regular English program with French-as-a-second-language (FSL). In the former case, the students had received all curriculum instruction in kindergarten, grade 1, and in most schools, grade 2, in French. English was introduced as a medium of instruction for approximately 1½ hours per day in grade 3 of all schools, except one where it was introduced in grade 2. At this time it was used to teach English language arts. Use of English in subsequent grades constituted an increasingly greater proportion of instructional time, and reached 60% in grades 4, 5 and 6. In the case of the FSL students, all curriculum instruction had been taught in English, and French had been taught as a second language for approximately 15 minutes/day in kindergarten, and 20-30 minutes/day in grades 1 to 6.

There were 167 Imm students (103 females; 64 males) and 111 FSL students (50 females; 61 males). These figures constitute maximum sample sizes; the actual sample sizes fluctuated somewhat since there was not 100% response rate on all language measures. A description of these measures is given below.

Questionnaire and Materials

The Students

Information pertaining to the students was collected using two questionnaires, a diary system and a test of French reading comprehension, all of which were completed by class groups during school time. All materials were coded to insure anonymity and, therefore, hopefully, honesty and accuracy of responses.

The questionnaires included the following types of items: 1) attitudes toward reading in general and reading in French in particular; 2) attitudes toward learning French and toward French Canadians; 3) attitudes toward the use of other media; 4) types and amount of reading material; e.g., books and magazines, in French and English; and 5) knowledge of English language and French language media, including books, television and music.

In lieu of asking the students to estimate their frequency of media use, they were asked to indicate in diaries which of 11 activities, including reading, they had engaged in during a specified time period. In addition to indicating what types of activities they had performed, the students indicated in what language it was performed (English, French or other) and for how long. The students made diary entries on two occasions which included one weekend and one weekday evening. Thus, we had information on approximately 2½ days.

Finally, the students were administered a modified form of the Test de Lecture "California", a French reading comprehension test intended for use with native French speaking children at the grade 5 level. The grade 5 version was selected so as not to be too difficult for the FSL students.

The Parents

A questionnaire was sent home to the students' parents. Two identical forms were distributed, one for the child's Mother and one for the Father. The same types of items were included as had been in the children's questionnaires. However, some additional items were incorporated into the parents' version; they were 1) educational level of the Mother and Father; 2) self estimates of SL competence; 3) estimates of English and French language media use, including reading activities, and 4) the relevance of reading and of French for their daily and professional lives. The questionnaires were filled out anonymously.

Responses Rates

The specific percentages and actual numbers of completed questionnaires, diary sets and reading tests by program type are presented below:

		Imm*	FSL*
(i)	Children's Questionnaire (1)	93% (156/167)	92% (102/111)
(ii)	Children's Questionnaire (2)		
(iii)	Diary Set (including Sat., Sun., plus 1 weekday)	93% (156/167)	91% (101/111)
(iv)	Test de Lecture	92% (154/167)	97% (108/111)
(v)	Parent Questionnaire:		
	- Mothers	65% (108/167)	62% (69/111)
	- Fathers	71% (118/167)	51% (57/111)
	- Mothers and Fathers	56% (93/167)	50% (55/111)

* 117 of the 167 Imm students and 59 of the 111 FSL students attended P.S.B.G.M. schools.

In view of the relatively high rate of returns from the Mothers and Fathers considered separately, in contrast to the relatively low rate of returns from Mothers and Fathers from the same families, the results of each parent group will be considered separately, and no direct comparison will be made between parents within a family. The return rate for the Imm and FSL Mothers was approximately equal, thereby reducing the possibility that differences in their responses reflect differential selection bias. In contrast, the difference in return rates of the Father groups is quite large (20%) so that comparisons between these two groups might be confounded by selection bias. Therefore, more weight will be attached to the Mothers' responses.

The Results

Unless specified otherwise, statistical analyses that were performed on the survey results consisted of analyses of variance (SPSS). In the

case of children's responses, the results were analyzed according to language program type (Imm, FSL) and sex of student (male, female). In the case of the parents' responses, only differences between program types were examined; there were no direct comparisons between Mothers' and Fathers' responses, for reasons stated earlier.

Family Background Information

A number of items in the Parents' Questionnaire provided information on characteristics of the Imm and FSL families which should be considered when interpreting subsequent results. According to both the Mothers' and Fathers' responses, the parents of both the Imm and FSL students were on the average at least high school graduate or had had some university level education. There were no statistically significant differences between the Imm and FSL groups when Mothers' and Fathers' educational levels were analyzed.

The percentage of FSL parents, both Mothers (42%) and Fathers (42%), whose native tongue was other than English was noticeably higher than in the case of the Imm parents (Mothers=22%; Fathers=24%). Even in the case of the latter group, it is notable that one-fifth were not native English speaking. Similar patterns occurred in the case of the children -- there were more FSL children (22%) than Imm children (6%) who spoke a language other than English as their first language, and there was a sizeable percentage of FSL children who were not native speakers of English.

There was a greater percentage of only children among the FSL group (FSL=22%; Imm=12%), and, correspondingly, a greater percentage of multi-children families in the Imm group (Imm=81%; FSL=69%). There was an approximately equal percentage of Imm and FSL families with whom other relatives, e.g., grandparents, were living (Imm=7%; FSL=9%).

The Children's Results

English Reading

Attitudes. A summary of the students' responses to attitude statements on reading is summarized in Table 1 (see items a to i). These statements have been taken from Estes'Scale of Attitudes Toward Reading (1971). The students indicated their agreement to each item on a scale ranging from 1, "Totally Disagree" to 7, "Totally Agree".

There were no statistically significant differences between the Imm and FSL students on any of the items. The girls responded in a more favourable direction than did the boys to four of the nine statements. It is also worth noting that, in general, the students' responses fall within the very favourable ends of the scales, indicating relatively positive attitudes toward reading.

The students' preference for reading as a leisure time activity relative to other media was obtained by asking them to rank order, from "most preferred" (1) to "least preferred" (5), each of the following activities: reading, listening to music on the stereo, watching television, listening to the radio, and going to the movies. A summary of their responses is presented in Table 2. The most preferred activity for both Imm and FSL students, as well as boys and girls, was television, and the least preferred activity for all groups was listening to the radio. Reading was ranked third by the Imm and FSL groups, fourth by the boys, and second by the girls; there was no statistically significant difference between the reading preference ratings of the Imm and FSL groups, but there was between the boys' and the girls'.

Habits. A full 75% of the Imm and FSL students indicated that they had engaged in reading in English, not related to homework, at least once during

the two and one half days sampled by the diaries (see Table 3a). A higher percentage of girls (81.9%) than boys (70.1%) reported reading (see Table 3b). The average reported duration of reading (in hours) was as follows: Imm = 1.06; FSL = .87; boys = .83; girls = 1.10. When considered along with the other diary entries, these results place reading, at least in English, as the fourth most frequent activity of the students during their out-of-school time.

Sixty-five percent of the Imm students but only 48% of the FSL students reported that they subscribed to a children's English language magazine. The boys' and girls' subscription rates were quite similar, being 55.3% and 60.9% respectively. Finally, both Imm and FSL students reported owning a comparable number of English language books, 55.92 and 57.46, respectively. The relative significance of these results will become more evident when compared to the corresponding French results.

Despite the apparent popularity of reading, the students' actual knowledge of English Canadian writers appears to be quite meager, as demonstrated in their responses to a question in which they were asked to name three Canadian writers of English language books. On the average, the Imm students proferred a total of 1.32 names, of which .45 were correct, the erroneous ones being non-Canadian, and the FSL students proferred a total of 1.14, of which .57 were correct.

In sum, the students', and especially the girls' attitudes toward reading in English appear to be very positive, and their actual preference for and involvement in reading quite high, albeit not as high as their attitudes might lead one to suspect. There were no major differences between the Imm and FSL student groups on these measures, except in the case of magazines subscriptions. The girls tended to respond more favourably than the boys.

French Reading

Attitudes. The students' attitudes toward French reading were assessed using

four attitude statements, to which the student was to indicate his/her level of agreement (1: totally disagree - 7: totally agree) see Table 1 (items j to m) for a summary of their responses and the statistical analyses. The Imm students agreed to a significantly greater extent than the FSL students that it was important to learn French "because then you can read French newspapers, watch French television, and go to French movies". The Imm students disagreed significantly more than the FSL students with the statements "Reading in English is easier than reading in French" and "I feel more at home when I read an English book than when I read a French one". Notwithstanding more positive attitudes on the part of the Imm students relative to the FSL students, when the responses of both groups are examined with respect to the placement of their responses on the scales, a tendency toward disinterest and discomfort when reading in French emerges.

Habits. The results of the reading test indicate that, as in previous evaluations of Imm and FSL student groups, the present Imm group ($M=41.01$) scored significantly higher than the FSL group ($M=27.44$), $F(1,258)=70.96$, $p<.001$.

Whereas 75 to 77% of the Imm and FSL students reported having read in English at least once during the time period covered by the diaries, only 13.4% of the Imm students and a negligible .9% of the FSL students reported having read in French during the same time span. The Imm students' results constitute a desired differential relative to the FSL students, but this difference is modest when one considers that the 13.4% of the Imm group represented here is comprised of 20 students, of whom 18 reported having read in French only once during the diary period, in contrast to 25% who said they had read English on three occasions during the same period.

The comparatively modest importance of French reading in these students' lives

is similarly evident in the small number of non-school-related French books they reported owning (Imm=9.26; FSL=8.66), and in the low incidence of French language magazine subscriptions (Imm=3.6%; FSL=1.1%). As might be expected, their knowledge of French Canadian writers was even lower than that of English Canadian writers. On the average, the Imm students suggested a total of .28 French writers, of which .10 were correct. This means that each Imm student was not able to name even one French writer. The FSL students' average suggested total was so low as to be negligible.

Other Language Attitudes and Habits

A series of additional questions was included in the children's questionnaire in order to investigate the students' language attitudes and habits in other contexts. Some of the questions were specific to the students' use of two other media - television and music. The former was selected for inclusion because of its ready accessibility in French -- Montreal has two French networks in addition to two English ones -- and because of television's inherent appeal as a medium, as has already been seen in the case of the media preference results (Table 2). Music was included because of its relevance to adolescent culture, and because there is an extensive and popular indigenious French language music industry in Quebec. Some of the additional questions were more general in nature, pertaining to the use of French in a variety of contexts not specifically media-related, e.g., use of French in stores, with friends. The diaries were also designed to examine the students' language habits more generally.

Television. Responses to three attitude statements comparing French and English television revealed a tendency for the Imm students to have more

positive reactions than the FSL students (see Table 4, items a to c). Notwithstanding group differences, the responses of both groups of students to two of the items (#a and b) may be interpreted as non-preferential feelings toward French television, while their responses to the remaining item (#c) indicates a preference for English television. These attitudes differ from their attitudes toward reading which reflected a consistent preference for English. Yet despite this, the incidence of actual French television viewing, as revealed in the students' diaries, revealed a dramatic preference for English television, with 95.3% of the Imm and 96.3% of the FSL students having reported watching English television at least once, but only 12% of each group having claimed to have watched television in French. Virtually all of those students having reported watching French television claim to have done so only once. There were no differences between the boys' and girls' viewing habits.

Lack of involvement with French television is evidenced further in the students' knowledge of French programs. On the average, each student was able to name less than one French television program (Imm=.68; FSL=.59) when asked to give three. In contrast, virtually all students named three English programs (Imm=2.91; FSL=2.90). Again, there were no appreciable differences between the girls and the boys.

Music. A similar picture emerges when music is considered. In this case, the students were not asked to express attitudes toward French Canadian music, but they were asked how many English and French language records they owned - they reported owning many more English records (Imm=24.71; FSL=26.25) than French ones (Imm=1.67; FSL=2.00), with boys (M=28.85)

reporting owning slightly more English ones than did the girls (M=22.52). The percentage of students reporting in their diaries that they had actually listened to French music was negligible (Imm=2.70%; FSL=.90%) and sharply lower than for English music (Imm=42.9%; FSL=45.8%). Their knowledge of French Canadian musicians was also negligible (Imm=.24; FSL=.20), but then so was their knowledge of English Canadian musicians (Imm=.41; FSL=.47). The latter finding probably reflects the pervasive influence of foreign music, especially American and British, on the Canadian music industry.

General language habits. The students' responses to a series of questions regarding their willingness to use French in a variety of other contexts are summarized in Table 4 (see items e to i). The results represent the percentages of students who selected, from among three possible responses, the alternative that favoured the use of French in the specified context. Once again, the familiar pattern emerges of more generally positive dispositions toward using French among the Imm than among the FSL students, although not unanimously so by any means. It is interesting to note that the differences are greatest in those contexts that call for interpersonal use of French with francophones.

Once again, however, their actual language habits as summarized from their diaries (see Table 3), reveal comparatively infrequent use of French for most types of activities, except homework. The profile for the Imm group is the same as that of the FSL group in most important respects. More girls than boys reported reading, doing homework, visiting friends, and listening to music on the stereo, all in English. This pattern of boy-girl differences was also characteristic of French, except for reading where an equal percentage

of boys and girls (viz. 8%) reported reading in French.

One final type of language use was investigated, namely interpersonal. The students were asked to indicate whether they "seldom" or "usually" used French in four different interpersonal domains - in stores/restaurants, with strangers on the street, with friends, and with family. The scale provided categories to take into account whether the students "never", "seldom" or "often" had the opportunity to use French in each situation. The Imm students, and particularly the girls, were more likely to indicate that they usually used French in stores/restaurants and on the street with strangers than were the FSL students (see Table 5). Few group differences were evident in the case of "friends" or "family" contexts. This pattern was evident, albeit the differences smaller, even taking into account lack of opportunity to use French in each situation. That similar differences in favour of the Imm students were not evident in those parts of the survey related to media use of language strongly suggest that this is not a response bias, but rather a real difference.

The question arises as to what distinguishes these two domains of language use. One possible distinction is the extent of voluntary initiative involved in undertaking the activity. That is to say, the decision to use the media is usually under conscious, voluntary control, whereas interpersonal use of language may often be socially required and, thus, involuntary. Genesee (1978) had noted in his earlier survey that the Imm students indicated a greater willingness to use French when the opportunity or necessity arose and that they were less likely to avoid such situations. At the same time, the Imm students gave no indication of being more likely

than FSL students to voluntarily involve themselves in or seek out activities calling for the use of French. More will be said of this later.

The Parents' Results

Attitudes toward reading. The parents were asked to express their agreement with a series of attitude statements regarding the value of reading in general, for themselves and for their children, and the importance they attached to particular functions of reading for themselves (see Table 6 for a summary of their responses and the statistical analyses). Two main points emerge from these results. First, there was only one statistically significant difference between the Imm and FSL groups, Mothers and Fathers considered separately: FSL Mothers (M=2.12) were more likely than Imm Mothers (M=1.71) to think that "most children have better things to do with their time than read." Even in this case, however, there was general disagreement with this sentiment. There were no significant differences between the Imm and FSL groups with respect to the sociocultural significance they attached to reading in English as opposed to French (see items d and j, Table 6). Second, the responses of all groups of parents indicate very positive attitudes toward reading for their children and for themselves.

Similarly positive feelings toward reading emerged when the parents were asked to rank (from 1 to 5) their preferences with regard to reading, television, movies, radio, and listening to music on the stereo as leisure time activities (Table 7). The Mothers, Imm and FSL alike, ranked reading a clear first, followed in second place, by listening to music and, in third place, by television. The Fathers ranked television viewing along with reading as the most preferred leisure time activities, followed

closely by listening to music. There were no significant differences between the rankings of the Imm and FSL parents, Mothers and Fathers considered separately.

In sum, all parent groups - Mothers and Fathers, Imm and FSL - expressed very positive attitudes and preferences toward reading. There was no differential preference expressed toward reading in English over French.

Reading habits. The parents' reading habits were examined with reference to three types of printed media - newspaper, magazines and books. They were asked to indicate how many magazines they subscribed to, whether they subscribed to a French language newspaper and how much time (to the nearest ½ hour) they had spent reading both during the three days prior to receiving the questionnaire. Estimates of reading time were requested for short time periods in order to increase accuracy of estimation. In the case of books, they were asked how many books they owned and how many they had read during the preceding month. The parents were also asked to name three English and French authors of children's books and books for adults. This information was sought for two reasons: 1) as a means of assessing the parents' own experience with adult literature in French and English, and 2) to assess their ability to be directive or involved in their children's reading. It might be expected that English-speaking parents are more able to involve themselves in their children's English reading habits than in their French reading habits because their own up-bringing has made them knowledgeable of children's literature in English. Anglophone parents may be handicapped in directing their

children's reading habits in French due to a lack of relevant childhood experiences in French.

Since SL reading habits may be related to SL proficiency, it is instructive to consider the possibility that the SL proficiency levels of the Imm and FSL parents differed. For the most part this does not appear to have been true. There were no significant differences between the Imm and FSL parents in their self-reported competence in French reading and listening comprehension. However, the Imm Mothers (M=2.96) rated their speaking ability significantly higher than did the FSL Mothers (M=2.62), $F=3.88$, $p < .05$. The Imm Fathers' ratings of speaking (M=3.15) also tended to be higher than those of the FSL Fathers (M=2.84), although this difference was only marginally significant $F=2.80$, $p < .09$.

An additional background factor that may be associated with personal reading habits was considered, namely the extent to which reading, in English or in French, was required in the work setting. There were no significant differences between Imm and FSL parents' estimates of how much reading was required in their work/professional lives. It has already been pointed out that the Imm and FSL parents had comparable levels of education, ruling out a third factor which possibly relates to reading habits.

Let us now examine actual reading habits. For sake of brevity, only the Mothers' results will be reported here, unless there are important differences in the Fathers' results.

Newspapers/Magazines. The vast majority of Imm (94.4%) and FSL (89.7%) parents reported subscribing to an English newspaper. Both groups reported subscribing to 4 or 5 English magazines or periodicals (Imm=4.49; FSL=5.04). In contrast, a small minority of both groups subscribed to a

French newspaper (Imm=10.3%; FSL=13.0%) and, on the average, each family received less than one French magazine (Imm=.35; FSL=.29). Correspondingly, both groups estimated that they spent much more time reading English newspapers and magazines (Imm=2.79 and FSL=2.22 hours during the three-day period immediately prior to receiving the questionnaire) than French ones (Imm=.17 hrs.; FSL=.33 hrs.). When considered on a daily basis, the estimates of French reading appear particularly inconsequential. There were no significant differences between the Imm and FSL groups.

Books. Imm and FSL parents reported owning an equally substantial number of English language books, excluding children's books and books related to work (Imm=283.22; FSL=290.65). Despite the fact that the Imm parents (M=19.32) reported owning significantly more French language books than did the FSL parents (M=8.18), the former did not report having actually read significantly more in French than the latter (Imm=.15; FSL=.41). The actual average number of books reported to have been read in French by both groups was very low, particularly when compared to the impressive number reported to have been read in English (Imm=3.40; FSL=4.13).

Literary knowledge. Although direct statistical tests were not carried out to compare the two groups with respect to the total and correct number of authors they cited for each language and readership category (adult, child), the Imm parents appear to have a greater knowledge of English and French authors in both categories than did the FSL parents (Table 8). This was not evident in the Fathers' responses, however. Moreover, the Fathers cited fewer authors of all types and were less correct in each case than the Mothers. Interestingly, and somewhat unexpectedly, there was a tendency for both the Imm and FSL Mothers to be more knowledgeable of writers of

books for children in both languages, than of writers of books for adults The exact reason for this unexpected reversal is difficult to determine.

Use of French in other contexts. The same pattern of English being favoured over French and of minimal actual time being spent using French recurs when other media habits - television, radio and movies - are examined (Table 9). The parents were asked to indicate how much time (to the nearest ½ hour) they had spent using each of these media. In none of these cases did the Imm parents report using French more than the FSL parents. There was a series of notable exceptions to this pattern, namely in interpersonal contexts. When asked to indicate how often they used French in five different interpersonal situations, whether seldom or often given the opportunity, the Imm parents were consistently more likely to report using it usually; the FSL parents, in comparison, were consistently more likely to report using French seldom in these situations (see Table 10). This pattern of results holds up even if one takes into account lack of opportunity to use French in each situation. It will be recalled that the results of the children's data also revealed a striking lack of French language use in all domains except the interpersonal. The co-occurrence of these findings suggests a type of linguistic modeling in promoting second language use.

Discussion:

The survey results indicate quite clearly that, considered in terms of the first language, reading was a highly valued activity among both student and parent samples. Indeed, reading received most preferred ranking

from parents and a relatively high ranking from the students in comparison to the use of other major media. Moreover, actual reading activity was reported quite frequently by all sample groups. At the same time, it was evident that other media, especially television, and radio among the parents, were used more frequently and extensively. The apparent popularity of these other media forms may reflect, in part, the relatively passive kinds of language skills required to use them.

Reading in the second language was rarely reported. Comparisons between Imm and FSL students revealed inconsequential differences in favour of the former group despite their more positive attitudes toward the use of French in general and despite their superior SL reading competence. It is of interest to note that the girls' attitudes toward reading seem to be, in some instances, more positive than the boys'. However, there were practically no differences between the boys and the girls with regard to actual French reading habits. This pattern of no differences between groups identified either on the basis of program or sex characterized the students' SL use in most domains, with the exception of interpersonal communication, where the immersion students, and especially the girls, evinced greater likelihood of using French than did the FSL students.

By way of offering an explanation of these findings, it might be instructive to consider the students' expressed motivations for learning French. Data from this survey, but not reported here, along with the results from the previous language survey (Genesee, 1978) indicate that the Imm and FSL students rated integrative reasons less important than instrumental reasons for learning

French. Gardner, Gliksman and Smythe (1978, p.182) define an integrative motive as a "high level of drive on the part of the individual to acquire the language of a valued second-language community in order to facilitate communication with that group." The integrative motive was operationally defined for purposes of this survey as agreement with statements such as "learning French is important because then you are better able to meet and get to know French speaking Quebecers" and "learning French is important because then you can read French books and magazines, go to French movies or watch French television". An instrumental motive is defined as the feeling that "learning a second language is important for pragmatic or utilitarian reasons" (from Gardner, 1979, p.209). The instrumental motive was operationally defined in the survey as agreement with the statements "learning French is important so that you have a much better chance of getting a good job in Quebec" and "learning French is important because it is becoming increasingly necessary to know French in order to get by from day to day in Montreal".

It might be expected that these different motivational complexes would be associated with different kinds and amounts of language use. In particular, it is possible that if a person's reason for learning French is only utilitarian, little or no effort may be made to initiate activities pertaining the use of the language. Such activities would include use of the language in conjunction with the media (printed or other), since such use is almost entirely under individual control. Thus, whether one reads the newspaper or listens to the radio in either French or English is

primarily a question of individual initiative and personal choice.

In contrast, use of language in interpersonal communication, while in principle under individual control, is often contingent upon other individuals and/or social circumstances. Thus, in a bilingual community one might be required to use French to give directions to a stranger or to order a meal in a restaurant because cues emitted by the situation or by the interlocutor indicate that French is called for. Not to use French in such situations might be ineffective, since the interlocutor may understand only French. Hence, while the instrumental motives expressed by the Imm students may be sufficient to activate French language use in situations where it is necessary, they may not be sufficient in situations, such as reading, where the incentive value of the activity depends upon the individual and not upon situational constraints.

The present results also lend themselves to a consideration of the broader social psychological context of SL use. Comparison of the parents' and the children's responses reveals some striking similarities, including, as has already been discussed, the differential use of French in interpersonal contexts by Imm and FSL groups. Additional evidence of similarity can be found in the responses of the parents to motivational statements that were the same as those given to the children. The parents' response patterns were the same as their children's. The similarity of the parents' and children's results suggests that the reactions of the one are being shaped by or modeled after the reactions of the other. It is tempting to suggest that this effect is unidirectional and that it is the parents

who are shaping the attitudes, motives and behaviour of the children. It is, however, also possible that the effect is reciprocal. Thus, on the one hand, the Imm students' greater willingness to use French when the need arises may stem not only from their higher level of proficiency in that language but also from the fact that their parents are more predisposed than the FSL parents to use French in interpersonal contacts. At the same time, the Imm students' functional competence in the second language may motivate parents to become more knowledgeable in those aspects of French culture which are relevant to their children's intellectual development. Support for this possibility can be found in the Imm parents' greater knowledge of French children's books.

The failure to find significant differences between the Imm parents' media habits and those of the FSL parents suggests that while parents may guide and encourage their children's use of French in these areas, the Imm parents' behaviour itself does not present a model which would exemplify to their children the value of using French in extracurricular contexts associated with the media. It is also possible that the parents are unaware of the potential positive influence their own use of the French media could have on their children. It is here that the school could play an important role in making the parents aware of the value of seeking more opportunities to use French in a broad variety of contexts, such as reading a French newspaper, watching French television and taking their children to French movies and plays. In this way the value of many activities to which the children are exposed in school would be enhanced through reinforcement in the home.

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Table 1

Summary of Children's Attitudes Toward Reading[1]

	a) by PROGRAM			b) by SEX		
	Imm	FSL	F Ratio	Boys	Girls	F Ratio
GENERAL						
a) Reading is for learning but not for fun.	2.40	2.69	.28	2.71	2.36	2.06
b) Money spent on books is well spent.	5.50	5.38	.04	5.17	5.69	7.00**
c) Books are a bore.	1.91	1.83	1.20	2.21	1.58	14.10***
d) Reading is a good way to spend spare time.	5.89	5.75	.24	5.70	5.95	1.48
e) Reading is only for grade grubbers.	1.61	1.82	1.33	1.79	1.62	.65
f) Books aren't usually good enough to finish.	2.21	2.26	.44	2.54	1.97	9.04**
g) Reading is something I can do without.	1.99	1.82	1.02	1.98	1.87	1.98
h) Books make good gifts.	5.72	5.69	.04	5.50	5.89	5.23*
i) There should be more time for free reading during the school day.	5.87	5.76	.34	5.81	5.84	.00
FRENCH						
j) Reading in English is easier than reading in French.	5.11	5.56	12.98***	5.34	5.25	.04
k) English books are usually more interesting than French ones.	5.12	5.09	.00	5.02	5.19	.59
l) I feel more at home when I read an English book than when I read a French one.	5.19	5.65	4.11*	5.46	5.32	.11
m) It is important to learn French so that you can read French newspapers, watch French television and go to French movies.	4.16	3.76	3.60*	3.91	4.05	.13

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

[1]Values range from 1(Totally Disagree) to 7(Totally Agree).

Table 2

Children's Preferences for Five Types of Media[1]

	a) by PROGRAM			b) by SEX		
	Imm	FSL	F Ratio	Boys	Girls	F Ratio
Television	2.11	2.11	.19	1.85	2.32	9.88**
Movies	2.72	2.51	.85	2.48	2.76	2.00
Reading	2.84	2.90	.00	3.12	2.64	6.71*
Music/Stereo	2.80	3.14	4.48*	2.94	2.94	.13
Radio	3.64	3.46	.89	3.49	3.64	.48

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

[1]Values range from 1 (Most Preferred) to 5 (Least Preferred).

Table 3

Summary of Diary Results[1]

	a) by PROGRAM				b) by SEX			
	(i) ENGLISH		(ii) FRENCH		(i) ENGLISH		(ii) FRENCH	
	Imm(%)	FSL(%)	Imm(%)	FSL(%)	Boys(%)	Girls(%)	Boys(%)	Girls(%)
Television	95.3	96.3	12.0	12.1	97.6	94.0	12.1	11.1
Homework	85.2	79.4	69.2	57.9	77.4	87.9	60.3	77.4
Sports	81.8	83.2	15.4	21.4	84.7	80.2	16.1	19.7
Reading	75.2	77.6	13.4	.9	70.1	81.9	8.1	8.3
Friends	61.1	51.4	10.1	6.5	48.3	65.1	1.6	15.1
Radio	53.7	52.2	5.4	3.7	50.8	56.9	2.4	6.8
Stereo	42.9	45.8	2.7	.9	37.9	50.0	0.0	3.8
Shopping	26.1	35.5	2.0	6.5	28.2	31.8	4.0	3.8
Clubs	20.2	8.4	.7	0.0	13.7	16.6	.8	0.0
Lessons	16.2	12.1	.7	.9	12.1	16.6	.8	.8
Movies	12.2	6.6	0.0	0.0	13.0	6.9	0.0	0.0

[1] Activity is recorded if it was reported at least once during the period covered by the diaries.

Table 4

Summary of Children's Attitudes Toward Using French

	a) by PROGRAM			b) by SEX		
	Imm	FSL	F Ratio	Boys	Girls	F Ratio
TELEVISION[1]						
a) French TV programs are usually more interesting than English ones.	2.27	2.62	2.74	2.53	2.31	.69
b) It's easier to understand what's going on in a French TV program than in an English one.	2.16	2.27	.56	2.16	2.24	.44
c) I feel more at home when I watch English TV than when I watch French TV.	5.55	5.97	5.28*	5.72	5.73	.23
d) I prefer to do things in English because I'm English.	4.79	5.41	6.36*	5.28	4.86	2.13**
GENERAL[2]						
e) Whenever I have the opportunity to speak French outside school, I usually do and only use English if really necessary.	50.7%	26.1%		34.7%	45.4%	
f) If there were French speaking families in my neighborhood, I would speak French with them as much as possible.	58.4%	36.6%		42.6%	57.7%	
g) If I had the opportunity to see a French movie, I would definitely go.	17.8%	12.1%		12.9%	17.7%	
h) If there were a French club in my school, I would definitely join.	21.4%	14.4%		13.1%	23.2%	
i) During French class, I would like only French to be used.	39.2%	25.2%		27.3%	38.7%	

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

[1]Values range from 1 (Totally Disagree) to 7 (Totally Agree).

[2]Values are percentage of sample agreeing with statement.

Table 5

Summary of Interpersonal Use of French by Children

		Never have the chance	Sometimes/often have the chance--seldom use French		Sometimes/often have the chance--usually use French	
			Unadjusted	Adjusted*	Unadjusted	Adjusted*
a) In stores, restaurants						
	Imm	8.1%	22.1%	24.1%	69.8%	75.9%
	FSL	17.4%	44.1%	35.3%	38.5%	64.4%
b) On the street, with strangers						
	Imm	23.1%	30.6%	39.8%	46.2%	60.1%
	FSL	28.0%	42.0%	47.4%	29.9%	52.6%
c) With friends						
	Imm	24.8%	33.6%	44.7%	41.6%	55.3%
	FSL	36.1%	36.1%	49.2%	27.2%	50.8%
d) With family						
	Imm	40.4%	34.5%	57.8%	25.2%	42.2%
	FSL	44.7%	34.9%	59.8%	20.4%	40.1%

*Adjusted taking into account lack of opportunity.

Table 6

Summary of Parents' Attitudes Toward Reading

	a) MOTHERS			b) FATHERS		
	Imm	FSL	F Ratio	Imm	FSL	F Ratio
a) Reading often becomes a time waster.	1.76	1.56	1.81	1.97	1.90	.01
b) Money spent on books is well spent.	6.74	6.54	1.94	6.51	6.61	.28
c) There are many books that I hope to read.	6.29	6.20	.02	5.78	6.17	2.25
d) I prefer reading newspapers and listening to the radio in English more than in French because I feel that the English media are closer to my own way of thinking.	3.65	3.88	.04	4.07	3.95	.40
Reading is important for me:						
e) -as way of keeping informed about current affairs.	6.15	6.00	.65	6.42	6.13	2.21
f) -as leisure time activity.	6.26	6.09	.72	5.59	5.73	.14
g) -only because there are times, such as filling out forms, when it is absolutely necessary to read.	1.50	1.91	1.71	2.05	2.02	.06
h) -as a way of broadening my interests and knowledge on different topics.	6.59	6.33	3.17	6.47	6.36	.41
i) I think that most children have better things to do with their free time than read story books.	1.71	2.12	3.46*	1.99	2.34	1.64
j) I prefer my child to read books and magazines and to watch television in English instead of French so that she/he will be sure to develop a strong sense of identity with the English culture.	3.42	3.80	1.19	3.35	3.81	1.25

*$p < .05$

Table 7

Parents' Preferences for Five Types of Media[1]

	a) MOTHERS			b) FATHERS		
	Imm	FSL	F Ratio	Imm	FSL	F Ratio
Television	3.13	3.14	.00	2.61	2.45	.22
Movies	3.47	3.74	.55	3.49	3.89	1.33
Reading	1.79	1.76	.00	2.59	2.41	.06
Music/Stereo	2.96	2.71	.82	2.87	2.93	.07
Radio	3.47	3.36	.15	2.87	2.93	.07

[1] Values range from 1 (Most Preferred) to 5 (Least Preferred).

Table 8

Parents' Knowledge of Authors of Adults' and Children's Books in English and French

	a) ADULTS' AUTHORS		b) CHILDREN'S AUTHORS	
	English	French	English	French
a) MOTHERS				
Imm	1.75	.71	2.28	1.06
FSL	1.14	.25	1.71	.35
b) FATHERS				
Imm	.03	.40	.03	.44
FSL	.03	.10	.11	.16

[1]Maximum correct = 3

Table 9

Summary of Parents' Media Habits

	TELEVISION[1]		RADIO[2]		MOVIES[3]	
	English	French	English	French	English	French
a) MOTHERS						
Imm	4.17 *	.25	6.29	.50	1.87	.10
FSL	5.52 *	.70	7.15	.59	1.68	.25
b) FATHERS						
Imm	4.02 *	.35	4.55	.60	1.88	.18
FSL	5.41 *	.57	7.15	.49	1.30	.31

*$p < .05$

[1]Number of hours (to nearest ½ hr.) of television viewing during previous 3 days.

[2]Number of hours (to nearest ½hr.) of radio listening during previous 3 days.

[3]Number of movies seen during last month.

Table 10

Summary of Interpersonal Use of French by Mothers

		Never have the chance	Sometimes/often have the chance--seldom use French		Sometimes/often have the chance--usually use French	
			Unadjusted	Adjusted*	Unadjusted	Adjusted*
a)	In stores, restaurants					
	Imm	1.9%	23.2%	23.6%	75.0%	76.4%
	FSL	4.1%	39.8%	41.4%	56.2%	58.6%
b)	On the street, with strangers					
	Imm	10.5%	23.8%	26.5%	65.7%	73.4%
	FSL	16.9%	36.2%	42.4%	47.9%	67.6%
c)	With service personnel					
	Imm	7.5%	30.2%	32.7%	62.3%	67.4%
	FSL	11.0%	35.6%	40.0%	53.4%	60.0%
d)	With friends					
	Imm	26.7%	26.6%	36.4%	46.6%	63.7%
	FSL	36.1%	36.1%	56.5%	27.7%	43.4%
e)	At work					
	Imm	26.5%	15.6%	21.3%	57.8%	78.7%
	FSL	42.4%	17.0%	29.4%	40.6%	70.6%

*Adjusted taking into account lack of opportunity.